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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

OOO THE DYNAMICS OF THE DOMESTIC GROUP IN TWO TZELTAL VILLAGES: A CONTRASTIVE COMPARISON

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 177 Most studies of Middle American communities explain variation among societies which are historically related as a result of acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of reciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large to which the village community is a part, this being the local Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with differences which emerge from variation in the internal system (i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social 121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. [592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 used in production, both in terms of holding and of transmitting such rights. Objects used in production are not dealt with extensively, because the capital investment in them is small, and they are easily replaceable, that is, the technological equipment is simple and reduced.

Chapter v presents a schematic description of the kinship system with the purpose of mapping those social relations which are classified in the terminological system based on consanguinity and affinity, and its extensions.

Chapter vi is the core of the study. In this section is presented a description of the developmental cycle of the domestic unit in the two villages. Several aspects of the organization of the household are highlighted: (1) membership, and its concomitant of residence rules; (2) the rights and duties of individuals as members of a domestic unit; (3) the effects of the system of production in the reorganization, through time, of a given domestic unit; and (4) the affective and psychological concomitants present in the particular role behavior of household members.

At the beginning of the write-up of this study, I set forth a series of correlations which I expected to test while analyzing the materials. Not all of them are fully explored in the final work, due in part to gaps in the body of data available. This by no means implies that the field work was inadequate per se, but rather shows the difficulties of searching for evidence on one problem from data collected mainly with other aims in mind.

The analytical frame which I used consists of correlations between economic factors, mainly the organization of production,

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the
evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only
one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a
reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of
121 the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison
128 which I expected to explore are found under the following
headings:

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
    a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
    b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
    a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

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b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

121 128 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.

a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

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Statement on Method and Objectives

121
128 I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

000 identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

By the economic system I mean the subsistence pattern of the society: the system of production and the rules for the allocation of the goods produced; the rights of individuals, particular social groups or classes within a society, over the acquisition, monopoly, distribution, or consumption of goods and services, these being means of production, scarce goods or luxuries; rights over receiving hospitality; work exchange; and others.

The definition of the economic system includes, therefore, the system of holding and transmitting property (land, animals, or other commodities), the division of labor by the sexes, by age or by any other criteria, including the control of the labor of individuals or groups, and the market system and rules of economic exchange, if any, of the society studied.

By jural authority I mean "legitimate or constituted authority." "A person holds jural authority over others when, according to the stated norms of his group, he has the right to give them orders and they have the duty to obey" (Homans and Schneider, 1955:21).

Power and authority are defined as a relationship of super- and sub-ordination in which the superordinate member can originate activity for the subordinate member, who in turn cannot originate activity for him, except as an asymetrical response. As different from jural authority, it is measured not in terms of the "stated norms or laws of the group," but in terms of the extent to which the superordinate person can effectively carry out his wishes, and to the extent that the subordinate person carries into

|2| practice the suggestions, orders or activity originated by the superordinate one.

Sanction as utilized as Radcliffe-Brown is, "a reaction on the part of the society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)" (1952:205). By supernatural sanction, I mean sanctions that according to the society have a metaphysical origin (although they are experienced as physical or social in nature), explained and accepted within the traditional ideological system of such society.

In my use of the concepts of status and role I have followed, as far as my understanding allows it, Nadel's definitions (Nadel, 1957, chapter ii).

By pattern I mean "an orderly distribution of relationships exclusively on the grounds of their similarity and dissimilarity." Such patterns are abstracted from distributions of particular relationships (Nadel, 1957:15).

I do not distinguish between social structure and social organization. I define the social structure as being an elegant and parsimonious synthesis of both the models which the carriers of a culture have about their own system of relationships, and the patterns of relationships which the anthropologist can elicit from the actual behavior, but are not verbalized as norms by the members of the society. Social structure, then, I treat as a conceptual tool to handle: (1) the static normative relationships; (2) the dynamic process of actual interaction; and (3) the relational features of both as far as they are performed by the society

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

114
122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown *et al*., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

114
128 The previous mentioned sources of information will be utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125
124 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quantitatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in
the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southern-
most state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area
[133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's
Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north
northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal
las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla,
is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
487 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex
491 network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the
Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and
which is being constructed.

131 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two
361 contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

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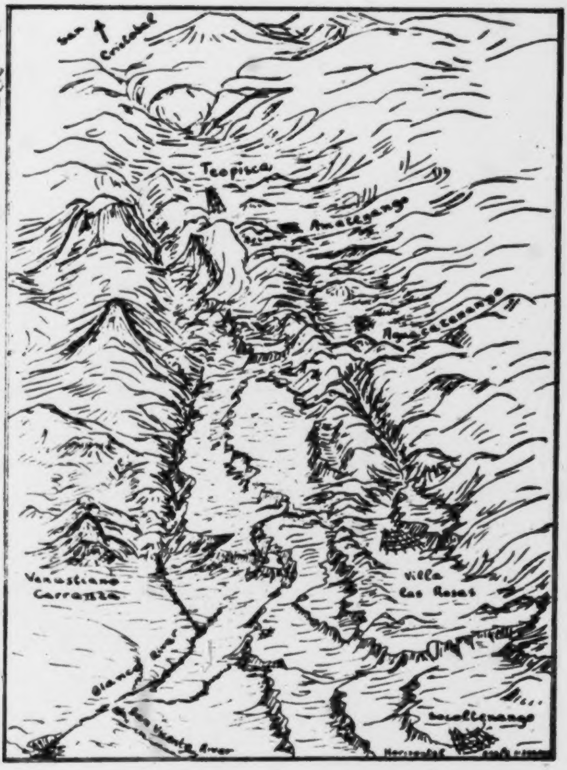
San Cristobal
Teopisca
Amatenango
Aguacatenango
Venustiano Carranza
Villa Las Rosas
Blanco River
San Vicente River
Socoltenango
Horizontal scale

Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

131 361 [491] American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 133 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 137 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two villages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 132 133 136 The soils are mainly limestone base, calçareous clay loam and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros,
231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[231] [177] [648]

[1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

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648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

175 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the
361 *parcialidades* of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango
621 was composed of the *parcialidades* of Amatenango and Sacatepec.
648 It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social
groups that the Spaniards called *parcialidades*.

[797] It is probable that each *parcialidad* was composed of several
lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has
done a comparative study of name distributions on available
censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been
found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars
(who controlled the *reducciones* in the area) when they reorganized
175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term
171 621 *parcialidad* refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions
of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the
175 *barrios* or *calpuls* (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally
621 used to mean the sub-divisions of *pueblos reducidos*. It is known,
648 however, that the *parcialidades* were originally separate groups of
people which were independent social units. Even after the
reducciones they kept important elements of their organization
separate, including their political officers, who were responsible
for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and
labor. Some of the separate political functions have been retained
174 up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one
621 of the *parcialidades* was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1] The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

174
621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous *barrios*, remnants of these *parcialidades*.

173
101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "*Ȼeté*," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "*Hȼob'tah*," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174
197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

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621
166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175
161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the *Provincia de los*
Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same *Curato* of
[793] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as op-
posed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican
jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same
changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State
of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time
175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local
621 districts were reorganized into *Municipalidades* (the closest
648 631 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to
Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth
Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth
Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé
(also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens,
1942).

631 At the present time Amatenango is an independent *Municipio*,
621 having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango
is an *Agencia* of the *Municipio* of Venustiano Carranza. Both com-
[692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in
[651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such
disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are
sent to the *juzados* of the towns, and because the offices of the
Tax Collectors and *Ejidos* are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in
621 631 the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

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669 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
621 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
631 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

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TABLE 2

AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

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286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

563 represents the national culture, has control over resources and communication on a nationwide basis, and is vested with political control and the responsibility for economic planning and decisions of more than local impact. The part of the population which controls national life is composed of people belonging to the Mestizo culture, which in Chiapas is represented, in its local variety, by the Ladino.

565 The total structure of Mexico is a hierarchical one,
563 divided into socio-cultural classes, and with marked differences
369 between the urban and rural areas (Mendizabal, O., 1959 [?]). Within this structure, there are some sub-groups which can be distinguished from the dominant group because of differences in custom, language, economic function, behavioral patterns, genetic composition and other factors, including various combinations of them. Such groups are regarded as inherently different and not belonging to the dominant group, and are excluded from full participation in the life of the nation.

The different sub-groups thus distinguished form a class system, a pyramidal structure, with the Indian and folk communities at the bottom, partially excluded from interaction with the rest of the class-system, and having only local connections with it (Tax, 1952; Wolf, 1955). The base of the pyramid is the bulk of the population which forms the rural proletariat: e.g., farmer of central Mexico and Veracruz, northern cotton ejidatarios, mine and oil workers scattered throughout the country, and the craftsmen in small towns. In the cities, the base of the structure is made

565 [563] [369] up of wage-laborers, domestics, self-employed craftsmen and peddlers of certain goods such as tortillas and lottery tickets.

At the top of the pyramid, there is a small section of the population which forms the upper classes. One could distinguish, traditionally, between a middle and upper class, but the distinction is an artificial one, due to (1) the small size of the middle class; (2) the small cultural difference between both; and (3) the constant mobility of individuals upwards and downwards in terms of economic power (Palerm, 1952). The distinction is valid, however, in terms of occupation. The whole group, including both "classes," is characterized by a higher economic status within a money economy, non-manual occupations, literacy, modern housing, a value system whose original source is Western Europe and recently the U.S.A. (de la Fuente, J., 1948), formal catholicism, and sophisticated standards of consumption which include minor things such as going to the theater and patronizing certain restaurants in the cities.

565 369 The upper class in the rural areas is formed by the landed gentry (the finqueros), the local professionals, businessmen, and the politicians.

In the cities, the upper class is made up of absentee landlords, the aristocratic families with recorded Spanish genealogies, and the new bourgeoisie, which is the product of the 1910 revolution. This bourgeoisie is formed by businessmen, administrators, government officials in high positions, and some technicians in charge of national programs (Mosk, S., 1950).

Bureaucrats, teachers, people employed in services and intellectual workers form the lower echelons of the upper segment.

565 563 369 Within this pyramidal structure there are some enclaves which do not form segments of the class continuum. In the cities of Mexico, some national minorities such as the Jews (Verbitsky, 1960), form enclaves of this sort in the upper classes; they are corporate blocks with an internal government, and whose members are representative of the corporation vis-à-vis the Mexican world.

In the rural areas, the most characteristic corporate units are the Indian minorities which form enclaves in the rural [621] lower class. Each Indian village forms a society, with its own norms, beliefs, internal economy, government, etc. But they are, in a sense, only a part-society because they could not exist outside the context of the nation, in the same manner that a caste in India is only a part-society.

56 369 Some of the mechanisms which apply to the preservation of the Indian castes as corporate groups (such as occupational specialization and endogamy), are equally efficient in the Mexican context. As national minorities they are not, however, a caste in the strict sense, as Tumin suggested for Guatemala (1952), because they function in a society which is not organized in equivalent segments (other castes) but into culturally and economically defined social classes whose population is highly mobile.

563 628 The interdependency of the Indian villages (part-societies) with the Ladinos (local Mexicans) which form part of the national class-system is multiple.

621 563 438 The Indian village is not now (if it ever was) a self-sufficient economic unit. Many items which are standard for the Indian and are produced for the national and international market

621 563 438 reach the Indian only through the local markets and stores run by the *Ladinos*. In these stores the Indian sells his surplus corn, his marginal cash crops and other small products (eggs, hens, [426] woven blankets, etc.). The Indian village also depends on the *Ladino* world to obtain credit for such large investments of capital (from the Indian point of view) as buying a cow for butchering, or a parcel of land. On the other hand, the local *Ladino* depends on the Indian to sell his craft-goods and to acquire the agricultural commodities which are only produced by the Indians.

621 632 563 [647] Second, the Indian village depends on the *Ladino* town, which is the local link between the Indian and the State government. The *Ladino* towns contain the *Ejido* Commission, the Department of Indian Affairs, *Bienes Comunales* (an agency which handles the administration of communal lands at the national level), the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (National Indian Institute, an agency created to promote the integration of the Indian into the national life, economically, politically and culturally) and the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) the party which controls national politics. The Indian village cannot survive without a [641] continuation of peaceful relations with the outside world. Its rights to land, economic aid, and the status of its members as Mexican citizens depends on keeping the channels of communication with the outside *Ladino* world open.

The carriers of this responsibility are the members of the *Ayuntamiento*, through its *Presidente* and *Secretario*, who are middle-men, usually bilingual and literate.

563 The social relations with the Ladino population are impersonal ones, in political and economic settings, or in the context of the Catholic Church, through the local priest.

[571] Between individual Indians and particular Ladinos, there are some institutionalized formal relationships, of a semi-permanent nature.

563 571 576 In the posada relation, an Indian arranges with a Ladino to obtain sleeping quarters in his house while he is in town, and reciprocates with presents of eggs, fruits and the like, and by giving the Ladino the option of buying from him the products which [608] he came to sell in the town. Caseros (people who give or receive posada) many times become compadres.

563 571 608 [851] The compadre relation involves the ceremony of baptisms of Indian children, and creates a special treatment of respect and mutual reliability between the father and the godfather of the child. To establish compadrazgo with a Ladino is an advantage for the Indian, who sees the compadrazgo as implying reciprocal obligations, and puts the Ladino compadre in the position of being a source of cash for emergencies in the Indian family.[1]

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[1] Compadrazgo has been discussed elsewhere (Verbitsky, 1959a; Reeves, 1960) and will not be dealt with here to any great extent.

Compadrazgo is a Catholic institution, but displays several local adaptations which are different from the formal church's conceptions. Ritual kinship, or formalized friendship (a name which reflects its real character) is acquired for several rites de [852] passage: baptism, confirmation, first communion, marriage (native, or Church) and other of lesser importance such as evangelio (blessing of a child at fiesta times). Of these, marriage occurs only [585] between Indians, and involves the families of both spouses, except unmarried relatives or those who do not participate in the wedding party; its main function then is to establish formal affinal ties which are expressed as compadrazgo between two extended bilateral families.

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441 Another relation is the *Fiador*.[1] In this relation, an
563 older and responsible Indian villager (who already has established
554 relations with a *Ladino* through *compadrazgo* or by being a regular
customer of his store), becomes a guarantor for a number of men in

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563 families. Baptism, the most important form of *compadrazgo* ritual
571 in the eyes of the Church, can involve indians or *ladinos* in the
608 role of *padrino* (Godfather); theoretically, it could include
[851] Indians as Godparents for *Ladinos*, but *Ladinos* do not ask Indians to play this role.

The *compadre* relationship functions in several dimensions. Mostly it reinforces kinship ties: "from a sample of eighteen informants (in Aguacatenango), eleven have established ritual kin ties with living siblings and siblings-in-law. Another six have established ties with relatives who are in most cases cousins, or, for the older generation, nieces or nephews" (Reeves, Peggy, 1960).
[602] Second, when relatives have been exhausted, or for other reasons, neighbors and friends are chosen. Third, *Ladinos* are chosen, because the Indian expects to derive some benefit from having a *compadre* among *Ladinos*, especially economic help in case of need.

Compadres are expected to respect each other highly, to lend each other a hand in milpa work, lend money to each other, drink together if they are men, get small presents of food, be invited to each other's saint's fiestas, etc. Choosing *compadres* among those who are not relatives, or with outsiders of the village, serves to extend personal relations and reciprocal obligations outside the kinship group.

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441 [1] The position of *Fiador* provides one way in which an Indian
563 can obtain leadership in his village outside the hierarchical
554 system. A *fiador* derives his power from the economic control of the villagers as a middle-man. Many *Ladinos* will refuse to get involved in transactions with villagers if they do not select the particular Indian *fiador* with whom they are used to deal. Therefore, such *fiador* can control a lot of the maneuvering of economic transactions of the villagers. For example, J. P., one of Aguacatenango's *principales*, derives part of his prestige from being the *fiador* preferred by *Ladinos*. In any big transaction, such as the buying of barrio lands, the *Ladino* will insist in having him to be *fiador*, and without him, the Indians cannot carry on their purchases. If the Indians refuse him certain special privileges, he can easily blackmail them by refusing to play the *fiador* role for them. Of course, he cannot carry his demands too far, without endangering his authority or even his person. In 1958, he decided to
[499] open a new entrance road to the village, and it cost him a lot of pains to convince the Ayuntamiento, through bribing and pressing particular individuals, before any household head showed up to work in the digging. Even then, his idea was carried on because all villagers agreed that a new road was a "good thing" for all, since the old one was too long and inconvenient as a way to reach the *carretera*.

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441 his community, who desire to buy something in credit from the
563 *Ladino* (land, cattle, fireworks, etc.). The Indian *Fiador* carries
554 the accounts of the debt, counting with corn grains, and is re-
sponsible for collecting the money from his fellow villagers and
M for paying the debt to the *Ladino*. Finally, the *Patrón* relation
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563 is one in which the *Ladino* becomes a *temporary* employer of the
Indian who desires to work for wages.

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563 Indian knowledge of the *Ladino* town and the frequency of
369 the relationships with the town decrease as the distance of the
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369 village to the town increases, so for Amatenango and Aguacatenango,
829 San Cristobal is a place to which one goes but few times in a year
while the Capital of Mexico is a place where one is "likely to
be eaten by cannibals."

M Within the villages themselves the only *Ladino* residents
563 are the school teachers, who are looked upon with suspicion and
875 resentment, there being a tradition that local school teachers
attempt to increase their meager salaries by monopolizing Indian
produce, or interfere with Indian political affairs, at times even
M with the good will of "civilizing" them. A frequent *Ladino* vis-
563 itor is the priest (the same for Aguacatenango and Amatenango
793 and thirty-one other villages), a necessity if one is to keep on
796 performing the Church ceremonies connected with the village re-
ligious holidays, which were established as part of the calendar
of festivities early in Colonial times, and now are an important
part of community ritual.

M Other *Ladinos* who live in the surrounding territories do
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621 not participate in any way in the life of the communities, with
647 the exception of peddlers and the infrequent visits of the

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621 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who
647 arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango,
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621 the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse pro-
743 vides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of
647 aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse pro-
vides services in his home.

T In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative
621 store which sells staples which are not produced in the community,
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474 but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, sell-
ing only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere.
(A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the
Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few
men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal
T profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water
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647 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957;
312 while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes
114 were installed there.

M Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal
563 nature occur through the courts of justice and national government
692 offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times
open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians
and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

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628 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for
438 Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities
571 located in different ecological zones the products that do not
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582 grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from
the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

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438 establish with them the relations of *posada* and *compadrazgo*, men-
571 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
608 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
582 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
628 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
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602 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and *chayotes* from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and *trago* (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
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776 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 776 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guatemala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both
communities a powerful *nahual* (supernatural being controlled by
the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays
to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities
agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no *compadre* relations estab-
[608] [582] lished between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage
and two of *posada* relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "*costumbres*," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

128 571 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 156 571 For example, a man can spend his household money in long drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his [626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

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The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

361 The central *plaza* contains the Church, the local government offices
[366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative
[368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the
INI clinic. Around these *plazas* (open squares) the houses are
relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the
size of the *sitio* (a household plot) small. (There are about
seven or eight *sitios* in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the
margins of the *town* the houses thin out, being surrounded by
milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center,
while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the
[776] *periphery*. *Sitios within* the center are highly valued in both
communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown
dangers of the *monte* (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits
(animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the
caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass
311 lands for pasture and the irrigated *milpas*. The grass lands and
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423 the water source for the *milpas de regadío* (irrigated corn fields)
are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of
the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before
it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the *milpas de temporal* (corn fields
depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups,
fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating
with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621 121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621 423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

175 177 423 [174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular *encomendero* and *encomienda*. (The *encomienda* was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

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the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

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> Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

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Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

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In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

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The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

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175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. M [661] Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. T 175 423 621 661 523 As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. T 175 423 M 669 423 After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

T 621 423 311 The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. T 621 423 Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 423 621 The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

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621 the *Ejido* should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the *Comisario Ejidal*. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the *ejido* parcels. Although there is a *Comisario Ejidal*, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the *Ayuntamiento* with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of *Comisario* does not count in the *escalafón* of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the *Ayuntamiento* officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby *fincas*, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (*propiedad inafectable*) set up by the government.

423 621 2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illgal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

423 628 Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of expansion has not occurred. 423 621 The demands for parcels by the villagers can be met from the already available land because of the

423 621 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole [166] [175] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 621 423 [651] A man from another Indian community may receive an agricultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

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621 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
423 vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 Membership in the community requires residence within its
423 territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village
166 he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return
he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621
794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

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621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 491 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
492 344 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
754 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
626 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the
627 *sitio*, and many witchcraft cases come to the *Ayuntamiento* only
after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the
Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down
the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge
and bloodshed.

794 The *Mayordomos*, on the other hand, have no control over
776 the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in
the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within
the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which
populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the
hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the
mythological creatures such as the *Sombrerón* (frightening ghost
which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or *Juan Lopez* (the
local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624
774 *curanderos*, who have powerful souls, or by the *principales*. This
776 last group (*principales*) is also "in charge" of taking care of
the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls
patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding
entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural
performances "own" animal spirits (*nahuales*) which help
them in their task. *Mayordomos*, on the contrary, can be men without
such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group
which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by
the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the *Ayuntamiento* and *Mayordomías*

621 The communal offices of the 48 *Ayuntamiento* and *Mayordomías*
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of *cargos* (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the *cargo* of *Principal*, who
is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

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621 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
794 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a *curato* head town, or had a *convento* in the village), the *Mayordomías* and *Cofradías* (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the *Mayordomías* have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

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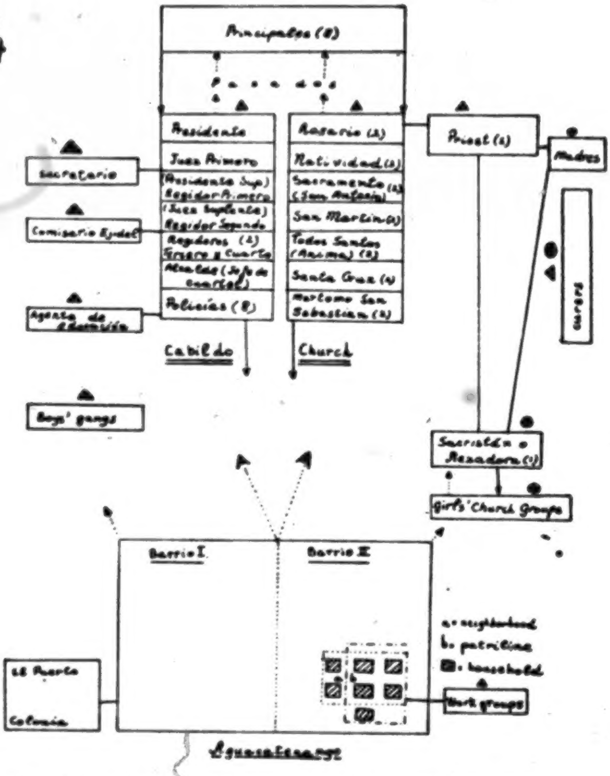
Principales (8)
Pasados
Presidente
Juez Primero
(Presidente Sup.)
Regidor Primero
(Juez Suplente)
Regidor Segundo
Regidores (2)
Tercero y Cuarto
Alcaldes (Jefe de Cuartel)
Policías (8)
Rosario (2)
Natividad (2)
Sacramento (2)
(San Antonio)
San Martin (2)
Todos Santos
(Animas) (2)
Santa Cruz (2)
Mayordomo San
Sebastian (2)
Secretario
Comisario Ejidal
Agente de
Agente de Ejidal Comisión
Boys' gangs
Cabildo
Church
Priest (1)
Madres
Curers
Sacristán o
Rezadora (1)
Girls' Church Groups
Barrio I
Barrio II
a: neighborhood
b: patriline
▨: household
Work groups
El Puerto
Colonia
Aguacatenango

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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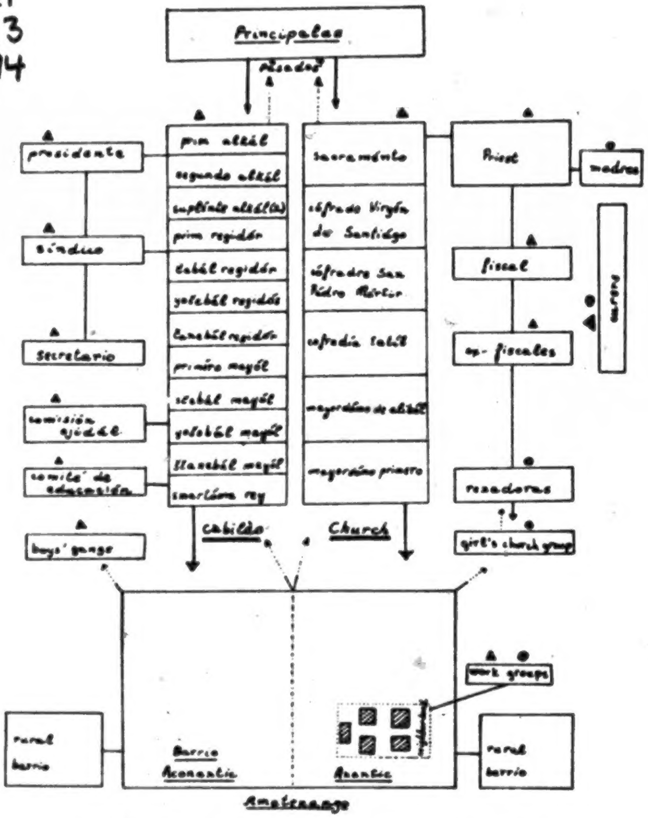
Principales
pasados
presidente
síndico
secretario
comisión ejidal
comité de educación
boys' gangs
prim alcál
segundo alcál
suplente alcál(2)
prim regidór
cabál regidór
yoñobál regidór
canobál regidór
primero mayól
scabál mayól
yoñobál mayól
Ilanebál mayól
smarlóma rey
Cabildo
sacramento
cófrade Virgén de Santiago
cófradre San Pedro Mártir
cofradia cabil
mayordómo de altár
mayordómo primero
Church
Priest
madres
fiscal
ex-fiscales
curers
rezadoras
girl's church group
work groups
rural barrio
Barrio Aconantic
Anantic
rural barrio
Amatenango

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [954] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] [602] (2) The second reason why the community government can be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet
[581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills
[521] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the
[556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three
62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and
887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a
888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

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887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
[754] ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

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554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
[624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621
624 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with
554 his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 624 554 596 Moreover, he can more easily fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to become the jural head of a large and united extended family, because, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 [623] Town officials, although they are selected by the previous officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1] This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

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TABLE 3

AGUACATENANGO: DISTRIBUTION OF CARGOS HELD BY MEN IN EACH AGE GROUP

Age Group	Number of Cargos Held									Statistics	
	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	s
20-30	8	4	6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	0.9	0.901
31-40	1	. .	17	5	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.2	0.228
41-50	. .	. .	1	4	3	1	1	. .	1	4.1	1.700
51-60	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	1	2	6.6	1.517
60 and up	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	2	1	6.8	1.260
Sample: 62	9	4	24	9	4	4	1	3	4		

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Mechanisms to Preserve Community "Corporateness"

One can say then, that in broad terms, political power is distributed among the households of the village in an egalitarian fashion. The tendency towards internal egalitarianism is also present in the total economic organization of the two communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. Egalitarianism in the economic and political realms, united with the fact that community norms are to be kept by every village member without discrimination, tends to make the community as a whole an egalitarian, homogeneous society. Homogeneity is preserved by the villagers themselves, who are very interested in keeping the status quo, because the interdependence of the villagers, the lack of specific powers given to individuals to create economic differentiation and/or political factions keeps the village united as a corporation with respect to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

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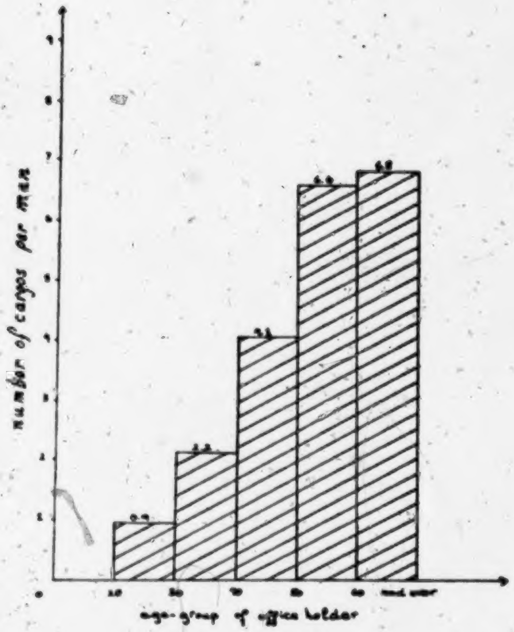

Fig. 4.--Aguacatenango; Distribution of _Cargos_ by Age Group (Arithmetic Means).

62| the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not 0 at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equiva- 423 lent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 433 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a *tablón*, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of *fiesta* obligations and *cargos* (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, *cohetes*, etc. 621 556 The assumption of the *cargos* requires a certain amount of capital to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists, 621 183 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the *Ladinos* in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "*alzados*"

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 627 [754] If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 578 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

> [625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

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> small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment. [754]
>
> I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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556
[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

[454] A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism 556 of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times 754 of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to ac- [731] cuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

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754
784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess
criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by
nature, universal: the basic biological differences between per-
sons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental de-
ficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-
grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which
the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the
Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differen-
621 tiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and
571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity
at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from
[576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In
every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros
and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their
relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in
a united family commands more respect than a man whose children
are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be
permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of
his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

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621 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress
571 pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be
[426] a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of
[755] extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small pres-
[476] ents of food to other households. He can make many compadres
[431]
[608] among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1] The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[779] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs
[538] such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

777 would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

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777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[463]
[934] [1] There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 754 777 [609] accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

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The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two *barrios* which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central *plazas*. The *barrios* of Amatenango are called *Acohantik* and *Anantik* (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango *barrios* have Saint's names.

[171] This dual *barrio* division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple *barrio* system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the *barrios* (*kalpuletik*) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these *barrios* are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the *barrios* of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

621 Although the _barrio_ lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

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582 The _barrios_ are ideally, and in practice, endogamous. (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are _barrio_ endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same _barrio_.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that _barrios_ originated from the _parcialidades_, which were at the time of the _reducciones_ independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

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[714] The latent hostility between the _barrios_ becomes evident when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt with girls of the opposite _barrio_ are reported to be beaten up, and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite _barrio_ will help

621 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are
578 582 willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the
gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious
794 organization of the village by sending an approximately equal
number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio,
they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years.
[623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried
[573] [575] women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with
[312] few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their
barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally
came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in
[476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such
tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing
an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties
[527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's
day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with
[575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past,
there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the
Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [1] A man that has married once is considered to have had
his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages,
[587] especially with girls who have never married before, are not well
thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across
barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism
of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be
antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own
barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

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[312]

each *barrio* prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one *barrio* have their plots separate from men from the other *barrio*, the *barrio* plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the *barrio* has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and *espino* for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one *barrio* bought land from a nearby *finca* (ranch). A month later, the other *barrio* bought land from another *finca* owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other *barrio*" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the *barrio* as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

Introduction

128 Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

241 Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The
462 whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which
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[32] are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 592 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

Sample: 68 Households

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166I

	Men	Per Cent
A:		
Never	12	17
Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
Fincas	5	3
Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
Yerba Santa	1	1
Total	70	100

B: Period of work in Pujiltik:	
1 week	29
2 weeks	15
3 weeks	2
1 month	1
Unknown	2

C: Period of work in Fincas:	
1 month	2
2 months	1
5 months	1
3 years	1

D: Status:	
Household Head	41
Son of household head	15
Da. Son of household head	2
Total	58

II. A:	Women
San Cristobal	12
Teopisca	2

B: Period of Work:

From 3 weeks to 3 years.
Average: 12 months.

C: Status:	
Widow	2
Divorcee	1
Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

462 [231] [241] *sitio* (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back *patios*. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant *chiles*, *cilantro*, *chayotes*, *té limón*, *mostaza*, and sometimes even beans and a small *milpa* for *elote* (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a *fiesta*, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are *alocadas* (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in *Ladino* towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for *Ladinos* is a somewhat awe inspiring idea. [illegible] Women "know" or suspect that *Ladino* men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

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Number of fruit-tree varieties:	7
Number of vegetable varieties:	16
Number of flower varieties:	7
Total	30

Fruit Trees:

Name	Number of Houses	Number of Trees	Average per House Which Has Them	Average per Total Sample
Anona	25	72	2.9	1
Naranja	17	26	1.5	0.3
Lima	47	131	2.8	1.9
Durazno	40	117	2.9	1.7
Guayaba	1	1	1	0.01
Guineo	7	14	2	0.2
Matasano	4	7	1.7	0.1

Average number of varieties planted in each garden: 3.4

Mode of varieties per household: 4

Fig. 6.--Aguacatenango Garden Produce

166 women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in
462 towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mix-
464 ture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small
[829] humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well
reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight
households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes
(see Fig. 5).

562 The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their
462 homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to
434 provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open
[464] to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (al-
[275] ready discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the
[558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well
thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about
as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of
drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

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438 In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very dif-
[241] ferent picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery
[434] factory because, in addition to the household income derived from
the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman
is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling.
Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly
line" style, with the women distributing their individual work
according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity.
Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
represents about half of the income of each independent household,
with some slight variation, because households richer in land
produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

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184 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural
production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors.
Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm
pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers
try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country
where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where
the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety,
is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated
land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure
against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable
433 year of plenty or a lean year.

184 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income
323 241 of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery.
433 434 This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens
184 the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase
166 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the *fincas*.
464 731 The result of having an alternative form of income within the
184 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more
434 balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a
621 reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The
434 men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women
462 562 have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on
their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of
this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work.
They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know.
. . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men *and* women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[317] [1] Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

128 the communities, to their different division of labor and to the control of productive activities and means of production by the sexes.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

128
The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

121 This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Kariera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

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128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

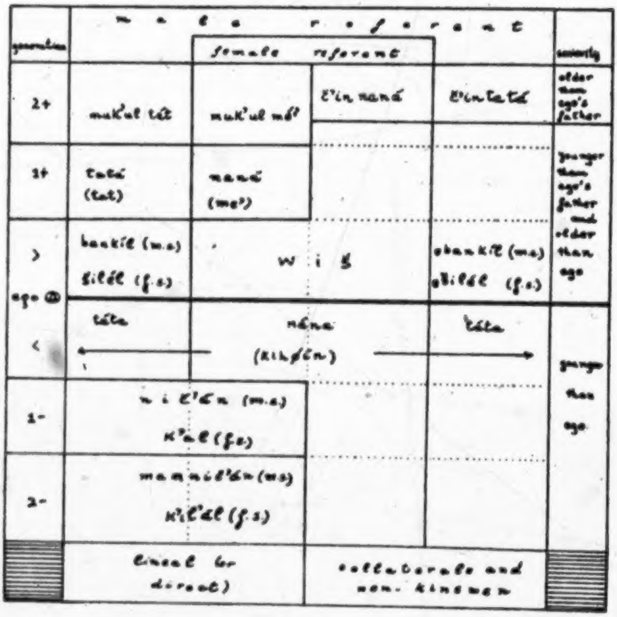
128
601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 88]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

601



generation	male referent	female referent		male referent	seniority
2+	mukʼul tät	mukʼul meʔ	čʼin naná	čʼin tatá	older than ego's father
1+	tatá (tat)	naná (meʔ)			younger than ego's father and older than ego
>	bankil (m.s.) šilél (f.s.)	wiš		ʔbankil (m.s.) ʔšilél (f.s.)	
ego (r)					
<	täta	néna (kihtsʼin)		täta	younger than ego
1-	nicʼan (m.s.) kʼal (f.s.)				
2-	mamnicʼan (m.s.) kʼilʼal (f.s.)				
▤	lineal (or direct)		collaterals and non-kinsmen		▤

(r.) term repeated
(m.s.) male speaker
(f.s.) female speaker

Fig. 7.--Aguacatenango Kinship Paradigm

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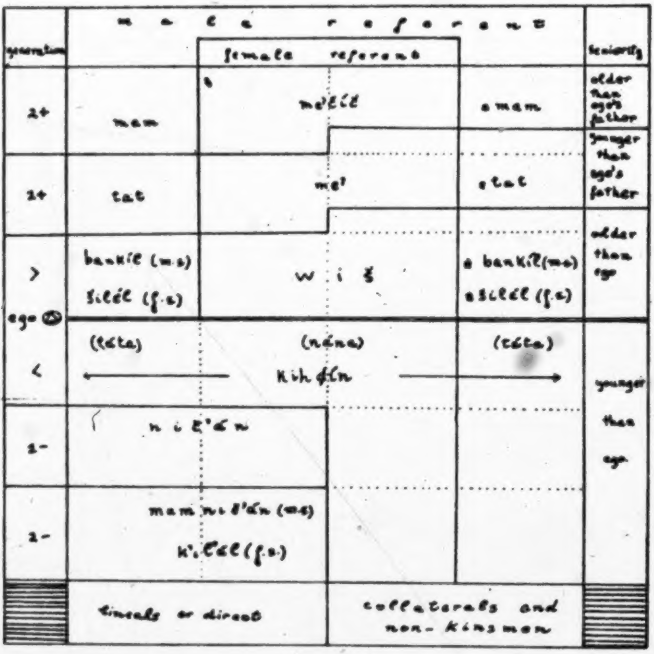
generation
m a l e r e f e r e n t
female referent
seniority
2+
mam
me'lil
a mam
older than ego's father
younger than ego's father
1+
tat
me'
a tat
older than ego
>
bankil (m.s)
šilel (f.s)
w i š
a bankil (m.s)
a šilel (f.s)
ego ⊘
(táta)
(nána)
(táta)
<
kih¢ín
younger than ego
1-
n i č'á n
2-
mam ničʼán (m.s)
k'ilél (f.s)
lineals or direct
collaterals and non-kinsmen

(ø) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 8.--Amatenango Kinship Paradigm

121 descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Homonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

601 The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

601 differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinsmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
    a) Younger than Ego
    b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
    c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

601

4. Generation

5. Sex of the speaker

Seniority combines in Aguacatenango with generation and linearity to separate Ego's own parents, Ego's own grandparents, Ego's own children and grandchildren from collaterals of the same relative ages and from non-kinsmen, but brothers and sisters are not distinguished from cousins or from other kinsmen or non-kinsmen of the same relative age and generation.

In Amatenango, only Ego's own children and grandchildren are distinguished from collaterals or others, which merges the core of the conjugal family (father and mother) and the domestic group with the rest of the kinsmen.

The most important distinction, among those lineals of Ego's own generation and collaterals, is the relative order of birth with respect to Ego and Ego's father. The sex of both the speaker and the addressee is added to relative age.

The extension of the kinship terms to non-kinsmen (i.e., those who are not included in the particular kinship group recognized by Ego) is on a society-wide basis. People are addressed by "kin terms" for a multitude of purposes: (1) to show respect in greeting; (2) to suggest that the person addressed with the kin term is expected to behave somewhat like the kinsmen who, according to genealogical placement, is called by the term; (3) to indicate social distance to juniors, and the expected deference and obedience from them, etc. It is common, for example, to salute an elderly woman with the term cinnaná, or to call a man from whom one is asking a favor by the term bankil.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

184
601 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562

The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
754 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[513] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
862 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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λ [826] [843] [841]

[1] The evil eye has been described innumerable times for Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim. Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

855 862 883 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom to run around the _sitio_, or go outside the _sitio_ with other adults in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. [585] Their role as messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 868 562 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making _tortillas_, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 562 [291] After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton skirt into the traditional dark blue _nagua_ (tubular skirt) and red _faja_ (sash), and are considered marriageable (_solteritas_ or _tek' el_). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with _compañía_ (company) to the afternoon _rezo_ (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

882
562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting,
584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocadas (lightheaded) and not fit for marriage.

156
571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882
562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [348] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.
883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free
562
573 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the *escuadrilla*
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: *tat*), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (*policía*). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are *mayordomos*), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184
562 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
462
592 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592
593 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
562 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is
married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and
husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562
[606] law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the
food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored
in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the
meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger
women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562
which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables
that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on
some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, ~~a~~ new pot, or something
similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a
mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some
authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
587 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the
second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house,
saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling
trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder
women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women
(perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother),
and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates
this social ordering:

159 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman mar-
591 ried to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan
592 Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage,
with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-
[428] band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until
the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the in-
heritance of the *sitio* as a recompense for their willingness to
support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to
592 437 sell, and he had been talking about it with a *Ladino* merchant who
602 was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it
than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a *Ladino* merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 592 437 602 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

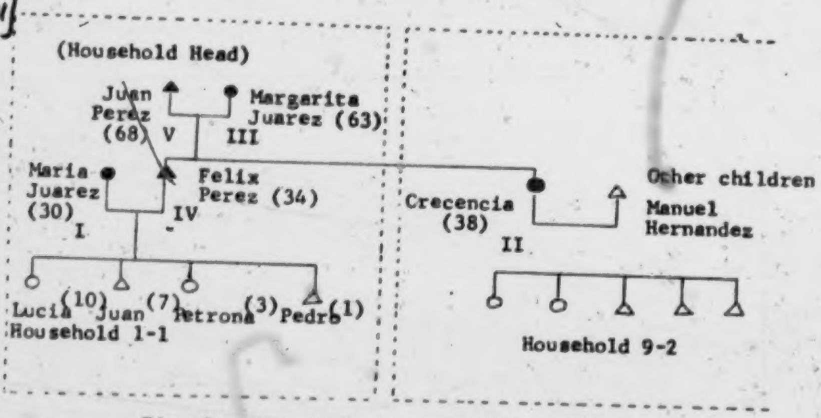
(Household Head)
Juan Perez (68) V
Margarita Juarez (63)
III
Maria Juarez (30)
I
Felix Perez (34)
IV
Crecencia (38)
II
Other children
Manuel Hernandez
Lucia (10)
Juan (7)
Petrona (3)
Pedro (1)
Household 1-1
Household 9-2

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592
437 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

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[431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561]
[851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231]
[421]
[562] [1] The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

592
593

562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434
592 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
421 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate 103
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that, women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

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The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

592 decisions are made, most of his life conflicts created and solved. Basically, it is as a member of a particular household that a person relates to people living outside his home. There is no more unhappy position for a person than being an "orphan," a person without relatives who can give him a home.

Moreover, the household functions as a political unit, being the unit of recruitment of personnel for the larger institutions of the village, such as the local government.

Physical Setting

351
592 The domestic territory is the _sitio_: the land and buildings of a single household. The boundaries of this residential site are delimited by a low fence and a gate facing one street. The fence is made of pickets tied with _maguey_ rope or of thorny branches. The _sitio_ entrance from the street is a _tranca_, a gate made of two large, sliding, horizontal poles attached to a short, vertical column on each side.

The fences and gates are important social symbols, delimiting the territory of the domestic group which resides in it. When a household splits into two separate domestic groups, but keeps on sharing the same original _sitio_, a new fence is built between them. Occasionally, this fence will not be built for a period of time, but the two domestic groups will build separate living quarters and separate cook-houses. Even then, the households will have their territory within the _sitio_ clearly delimited, if not fenced. In any case, a new gate is opened, symbolizing the independence of the families living within the _sitio_.

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[578]

When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

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Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

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The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

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The building of a new house is an important social event

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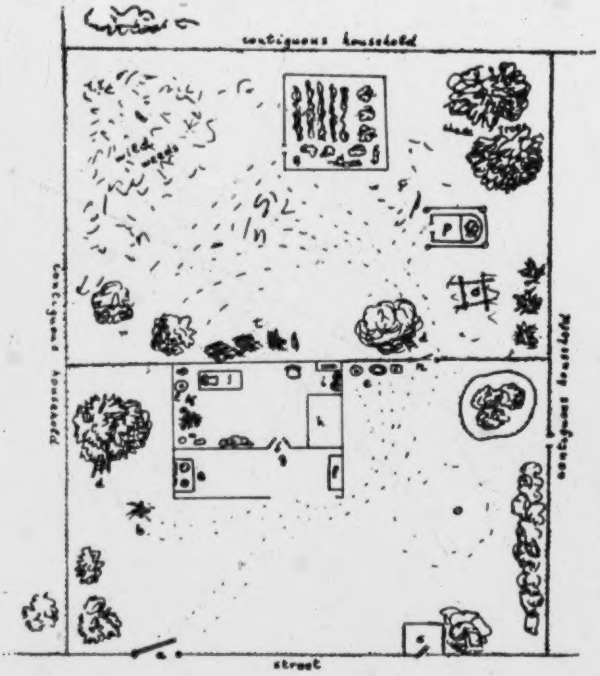
contiguous household
contiguous household
contiguous household
street
wild weeds
a
b
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Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

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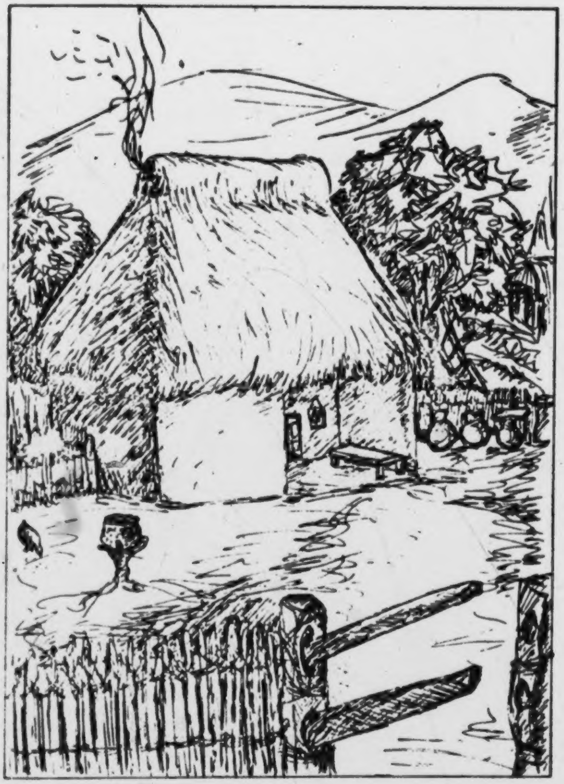

Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

342 592 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group. Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 591 592 When the young couple build their first separate house, this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group. It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents. 342 156 571 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a material display of a man's good social relations. Although house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in [177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 [527] [782] The building of a house is followed by a "house warming" ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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		Number - Per Cent
Walls made of	mud	93-77
	wood planks (tejamanil)	11-9
	palm	9-7
	mud and wood	3-2.5
	cane and palm	1-1.1
	cane	2-2.3
	mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.

Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows: 15-22

unfinished new houses	4
granaries	6
saint's houses	2
storage room for pots	1
bedroom	1
empty	1

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4

Pig pens--in all houses in sample

Chicken coops--46

Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a] After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [778] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

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578 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed
753 social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
571 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
578 the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests.
As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious,
the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people
342 and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a
753 daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering
578 from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing
783 ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her
782 duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor.
The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

592 The people living in a household are in charge of per-
778 forming some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

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764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

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184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

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The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

121 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two
591 criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type	Kin Sponsor
I. Neolocal	Self
II. Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III. Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

121 591 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors, such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, consequently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

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[1] Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare *et al.* (1957), Mills (1954).

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1] For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the *bocado* (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 *pesos*, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and *trago* (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1] The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the *pedidas* (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last *pedida* is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the *entrega de la muchacha* (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the *pedida*, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the *entrega de la muchacha*.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the *robo* (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, *robos* or *huidas* occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The *robo* is [821] common in inter-*barrio* marriages, where the *pedidas* ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon *barrio* interaction and the rules of *barrio* endogamy.

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
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593 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
606 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
225 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[251] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592]
[672] [2] If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once
591 children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order
[582] of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h)
[593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his
[428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have
591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1] When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 621 [583] *Aguacatecos* expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

[428] The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (*po'h*). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] [591] [606] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the *sitio* without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [936] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the
patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor.
To this core of men are attached their children and their wives,
all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter,
and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters
of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons.
At the same time, one would find out that women, because they
follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic
relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
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241 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
417 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced
together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired,
are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and
effort of building interior separations between the plots, because
the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels
and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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423 241 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes 417 marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 59 183 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pattern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 121 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

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which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

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Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patrivirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

592 593 183 The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME. MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. 621/ 592 602 This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a [582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, [606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

591 606 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for him and his wife.

TABLE 9

621 591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME. ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Man				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumula-tive Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumula-tive Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8		
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6	14	
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827 significance level at 0.001

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

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888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

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583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his
[606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

591 [606] in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it. If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

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757 since she is married and living away from them, while the father believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

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562 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her without delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

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593 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

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606 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a

592 593 606 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal
times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

593 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution
423 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

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TABLE 10

AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

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432 The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed,
593 for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of
[183] the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous
[428] houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents'
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432 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

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[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423 432 [764] [428] this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592 591 578 The fission of the compound household into nuclear households is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593 592 464 562 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

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592 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
464 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
562 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
423 nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard
of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
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621 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
[593] but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
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425 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
578 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

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578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
[621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
[593] modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some
few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell.
Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary
exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cul-
tural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for
wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps
milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn
and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the cus-
tomary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
621 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
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592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the
ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. There-
fore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he
has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity
which allows him to do so.

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But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

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A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 606 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging
592 news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 885 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential [626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the *hoy ta yutil hna* (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

591 593 Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591/593 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead). Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

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Residence Patterns for Ex-married People

The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

591 605 man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

591 736 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a] E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiolocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

591 736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the
587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When
591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from
[183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the
[601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

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587 The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she
[601] (183) did not count her, when giving census information, among the
children of her household, but as a child living with "my hus-
band's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case
[848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital
relation between the father and another woman, while the father
was already married to the stepmother.

593 The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons
591 why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "step-
587 mothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces
[428] operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict
over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

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572 These alternative rules of residence explain the composi-
423 tion of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or
426 more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which
people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592
423 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
426 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. Those cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his
591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 592 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). [428] The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. [184] It is unlike Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" (Nash, J., 1960:45). [693] [592] The second factor is related to the fact that if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. [582] The third factor is a personal, rather than a standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591 592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a] After Nash, J., 1960.

591 593 361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do
591 428 423 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viri-patrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 16

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AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO THE PARENTAL HOME, ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in	Man			Women		
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
I Same house	49	33	64	39	23	49
II Same Compound	10	7		15	9	
III Next door	15	10		17	10	
IV Same block	21	14		10	7	
V Same town division	35	24	24	60	35	35
VI Other division	9	11	11	10	16	16
VII Outlying barrios	4			12		
VIII Other town	6			5		
Total	149			178		

	+	-
Men	94.5	54.5
Women	81.5	86.5

$x^2 = 7.11 > 6.635$ Significance level at 0.01

I to IV: Patrilocal Proximity
I to V : Barrio Endogamy
I to VI: Village Endogamy
VII to VIII: Village Exogamy

423
428

TABLE 15

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 428 423 433 593 The fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

423
593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the
[432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are
[184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of
agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to
the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately
16 per cent of land transactions. The

> 423 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal
> 241 cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land hold-
> 592 ings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones
> 464 . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households
> can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those
> households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult
> son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest.
> 592 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooper-
> 323 ation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of
> 434 women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increas-
> 868 ing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer
> produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money
> [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquir-
> [178] ing cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are
> currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly.
> Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven
> or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of
> pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery
> was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl
> [114] was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans
> Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery
> was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are con-
> tracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time
> they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to work-
> ing with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress
> put on their remaining in or near their parental home after
> marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period
868 in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular
323 habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman
from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that
there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would
be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1] It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

592 868 323 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28) at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production. [582] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 434 433 323 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally important for all households. (1) Households with more children produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government _Ejido_ land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient _milpa_ raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323
434 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
361 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434
464 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON P. 162]

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

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Proximity	Live in:	Men		Women	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

Women

	+	-
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

Men

	+	-
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

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[a] After Nash, J., 1960.

361 591 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
434 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184 589 Residence of Widows

591 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 [423] to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[768] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
to be able to support herself and the children because she is
able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 184 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

583 584 The Marriage Transactions and the Household

In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if
they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor,
the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are
consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a
poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the
village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to
a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but
inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed
with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives
work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with
La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that
is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the
poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of
a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on
her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement
at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a
richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of
the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off
from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later,
if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the
agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established
bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full
bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already
[591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always
patri-virilocal in residence.

592 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the
567 household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry
582 them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use
434 their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other
levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her
because there is another married child in the household but they
do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to
marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep-
591 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer
583 man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the resi-
dence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the
bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 *pesos*
rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of
the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after
marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca-
191 tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but
seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differ-
ences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar
contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a
high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

582 171 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953: 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 593 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambivalence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

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previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

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[184] The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

[434]
[428] In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry [607] out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 606 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, 578 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

174 Historical Perspective

611 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and
591 Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization
601 based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship
583
423 terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features
428 such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the
rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate
613 lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized,
614 and they had important social functions. The heads of linear
621
626 segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of
controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through
the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal
counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during
sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to
their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was
[582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points
to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of
two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation
in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

127 there is contemporary evidence of this structure in the present day organization of other similar Tzeltal-Tzotzil villages (see bibliography).

Landa (1928:98-99) suggested that the Mayans had a unilateral social organization based on the presence of name groups, exogamy, and patrilineal inheritance. Eggan (1934) indicated the possibility that the Mayans had cross-cousin marriage from his work with kinship terminology. Miles, working with the evidence about sixteenth century Pokom-Maya, reconstructed the kinship system as being strongly classificatory, with linearity receiving "scant but important attention in the terminology" (1957:756), and he also reports the presence of patrilineages. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1952) reported that the Tzotzil of Chenalho and Chalchihuitan, and the Tzeltal of Cancuc and Oxchuc had a Bifurcate Merging type terminology, with "one term for sibling and parallel cousin, another term for cross-cousin, with overriding of generations." Murdock, on the basis of this and other evidence, suggested that the Mayans had a patrilineal social organization and that "although the fact appears to have escaped general attention, both ancient and modern sources clearly attest the presence of exogamous patrilineages everywhere in the lowlands (of the Mayan area) with the single possible exception of the Chorti, and true exogamous patri-sibs have survived among such highland tribes as the Cakchiquel, Mam, Quiche and Tzeltal." "The Tzeltal evolved Omaha terminology and, thus, acquired a social system of the most fully developed patrilineal sort" (Murdock, 1955:95).

127 014 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

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611 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly acculturated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).

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611 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally inherited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571
[613] In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
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592 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related house-
[114] holds. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the
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433 two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization
182 of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is
591 not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters
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621 within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral
societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our
statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evi-
dence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages,
equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 602 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
592 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
591 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger
written before the residence analysis of the community was carried
to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations,
and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that
agnatically related households were widely spread within the com-
munity, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 592 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
551 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
621 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in
Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those
individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (seperate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those
Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez
is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish
name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group
is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 613 551 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as *Hernandez*, has within it the patrilines *Wayal*, *Obispo* and *Chalté*, while *Perez* has the patrilines *Ich*, *Tuluk* and *Chauk*.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 551 [829] The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 613 551 602 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed

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602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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582 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevent names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

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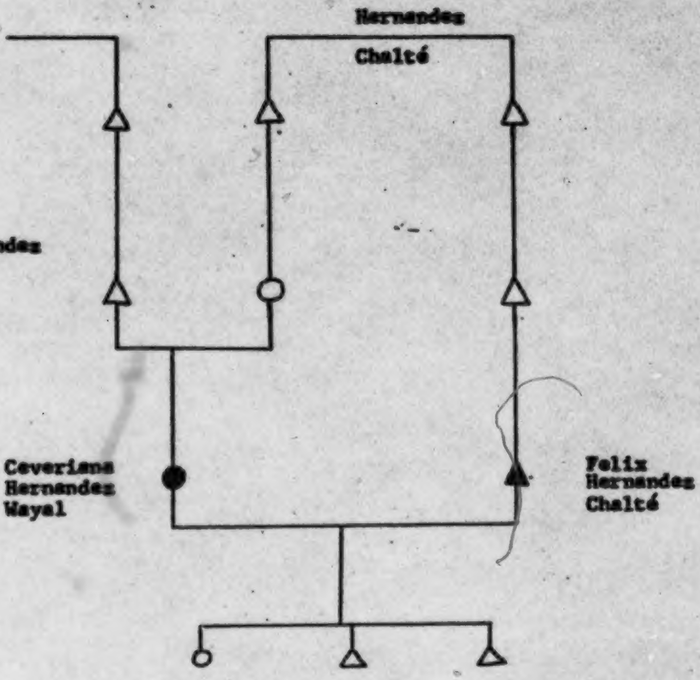
Hernandez
Chalté
Hernandez
Wayal
Ceveriana
Hernandez
Wayal
Felix
Hernandez
Chalté

Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

613
476 The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work
[602] groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal
relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men
fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and
sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town *fiesta*
celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains
613 agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow
621 together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among
476
[432] themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to
build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals
(the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's
brother), three were *compadres* and one a neighbor from across the
[462] street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming
were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two
agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three
affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two
neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom
was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was
called in to give advice and help.

613 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the
476 elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kin-
626 ship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside
627 the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the
form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and
responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613
476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the *Mendeztik* will get
626 together against the *Perezetik* if a *Perez* kills a *Mendez*." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
613
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, *Ejido* land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the *Ayuntamiento*, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both *ejido* and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

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613 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a *tributario* (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 *principales* that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The *principales* are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that *principales* are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially *principales*, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making *Ayuntamiento* decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was *reducido*, and the control of the lands by the
613 *Encomienda* and the Spanish crown and later by the *fincas*, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423
621 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
592 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
178 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
[593] household property. There have been several cases in which
brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613
593 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
423 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

593 [626] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

[936] The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] [578] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
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538 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture.
The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other
elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture.
But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death,
his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In
this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's
support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land,
cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Mrny alternative forms of
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593 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
[591] the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[583] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported
him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the
money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593
578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1] That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593
578 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

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428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

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585 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the *fiesta* which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his *sitio* and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[526] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

562 428 598 [183] The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 557 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

000 village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
562 428 578 and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
592 606 589 it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

Household 24-7

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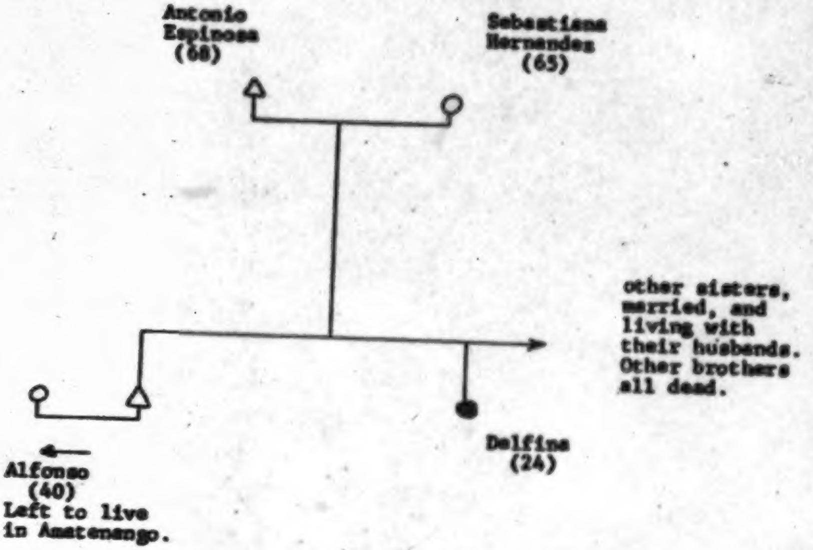
Antonio
Espinosa
(68)
Sebastiana
Hernandez
(65)
other sisters, married, and living with their husbands. Other brothers all dead.
Alfonso
(40)
Left to live in Amatenango.
Delfina
(24)

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

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now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

[606]
[736]
Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the property at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423]
The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

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This type of conflict carries over to other property, such as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.

Case 3

[431]
When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

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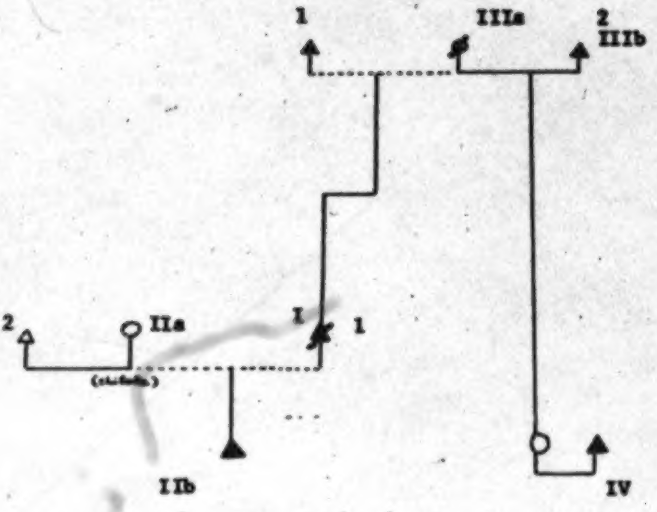

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

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422 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
593 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
578 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754
776 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
613 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of
principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

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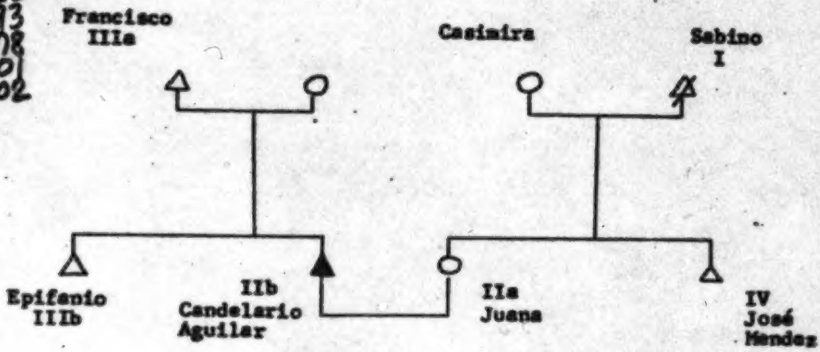
Francisco
IIIa
Casimira
Sabino
I
Epifanio
IIIb
IIb
Candelario
Aguilar
IIa
Juana
IV
José
Mendez

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
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434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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613 group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in
592
621 Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some
591 affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-
184 household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

178 The result of this complex set of variables is that the
184 lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic
591
592 functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how,
613 even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects
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182 of the economic system play a very important part in the structur-
571 ing of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic
184 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been
241 assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of
323
434 social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners
182 and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village
462
592 (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial
562 for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango,
434 it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
592 562 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[421] marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 434 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 591 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
562 602 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
own kin rather than her husband's.

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182
428 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
593 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the de-
velopmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the
rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
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591 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
556 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence
is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their
daughters within the same economic level of their own households.
In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple
reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
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476 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
593 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
[606]

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, ~~the~~ brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the
point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
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591 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
[613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 593 596 591 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 361 592 476 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 [428] Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 59 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 59 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 59 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsmen from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

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591
586 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and
602 maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of sup-
736 porting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they
591 choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while
434 in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own
domestic groups.

184 10. In both villages, residence within one's __barrio__ is
621 preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In
582 Amatenango, cross-__barrio__ marriages are accompanied by matri-
591 uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which
results in both men and women residing in a __barrio__ other than their
own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in
Aguacatenango __barrios__ being related only through the circulation
of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are
transmitted between families across __barrio__ lines, in both directions.

184 The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship
621 produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages.
602 [592] In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of ag-
natically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed
[613] of a set of kindred. The __barrio__ in Aguacatenango, then, is a
[562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized
agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-
relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a
man does not separate from his territory or __barrio__, nor from his
184 neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after
621 marriage and even within __barrios__. In Amatenango, both men and
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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer
did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error
of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of
kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage
sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms
of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among
kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as
Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
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561 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in
Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through
descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 591 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 621 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

184 Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

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571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461
556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
556 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyse social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

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776 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

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Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can
184 show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

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754
[177]
One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of *Alferez*, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the *Ayuntamiento* or *Cofradias* organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an *Alferez* independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the *fiesta* for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been
178 *Alfereces* in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been
794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take
754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the *pueblo*" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 794 754 [177] it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict. So, although the fact that the *Alferez* has disappeared as a post can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them. [754] [828] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

000 phenomenon (it has been said of religion in general more than once), and therefore, it is likely to be a phenomenon in which all social domains will find expression. But on the other hand, it seems that any social phenomenon always functions in a multiple domain frame.

The family (or the nuclear family), which functions primarily, perhaps, as a socialization agent, must also "make provision for the distribution of goods and services" (Levy and Fallers, 1959:648), that is, in every society the family has economic functions. Descent groups, and/or residence units, moreover, are never purely specialized in one domain of social action, nor can they be understood in reference purely to the kinship or any other domain.

It cannot be said that the household is mainly a kinship institution, nor that it is an economic one, nor purely a territorial arrangement. It is all at the same time; people make choices in this context with reference to all domains, and in many cases they are aware of the multiple dimensions of their choice.

The household is both the focus of the relational aspects of kinship, and an economic unit of the membership type, and cannot be understood except studying simultaneously at the two levels. Most studies of the family in the U.S.A. tend to study the relational aspects of the family, rather than studying families as membership units, with few exceptions. Parsons and Bales (1955) have applied the membership unit approach in their study of the family, but this apparently general treatment is the result of extending generalizations about the American family to the rest of the world. It is not clear that their generalization holds

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

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184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows
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602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 591 [591] [602] residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 592 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 114 127 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

ooo communities) and expand it later to a cross-cultural comparison which will allow me to elicit generalizations of a more than local order.

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778 Tzeltal NV9

[For information on "suerte", a supernatural power associated with good or bad luck or fortune in carrying out various economic enterprises, see category 777.]

623
888
887

Tzeltal NV9

[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]